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882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [831] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 252 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the coöperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mae and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Pokotay, Daw, Yatminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mae decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mae offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbima calling with a new gong--do you hear me?] and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said maski (nevermind). When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also said that Yatsminj, Kar, Kis, Wof et al. were his fathers. He had talked to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it (evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Owiyap just came in without his ?lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the woman did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
835 Uka, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopment be postponed. Mauk was going
[583] to Koriasi with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. May came

October 28, 1936.

*115 124 [123] Owiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and Hay bothhbegan helping around the house, and since Hamb is gone, we officially made them houseboys and gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Owiyap took up a pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a gamba (ghost). This he did--a male one first. Then we asked him to drew a female one, [831] which he also did. He mentioned that the male figure had two penises. Then he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 593 Today we told Owiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Owiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Owiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Owiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Owiyap that a big wind was coming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were

March 4, 1937.

*115 787 123 Gwiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Gwiyap if he were going with him, to which Gwiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

* 115 572 765 Gwiyap inherited Yatafauf as a naramboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naramboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 ● 831 Kewas came in this morning with an erection. Gwiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Gwiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

* 115 857 When Gwiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Gwiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sunga kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)